

## Message Text

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10  
ORIGIN IO-13

INFO OCT-01 CIAE-00 CU-02 INR-07 NSAE-00 USIA-06 AF-08

ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 ACDA-07 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY WARSAW

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 256855

NESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PO, UNGA

SUBJECT: 31ST UNGA: U.S.-POLISH CONSULTATIONS

1. SUMMARY: ON OCTOBER 12, AT SUGGESTION OF POLISH  
EMBASSY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEWIS RECEIVED POLISH MFA  
CHIEF OF IO DEPARTMENT PAWLAK ACCOMPANIED BY MINISTER  
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WIEJACZ FOR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON UNGA AND UN ISSUES IN  
GENERAL. PAWLAK DISPLAYED SOPHISTICATED UNDERSTANDING  
OF PRINCIPAL ISSUES, GAVE HIS MAIN EMPHASIS TO SOVIET  
NON-USE OF FORCE IDEA, NEED FOR OVERALL MIDDLE EAST

SETTLEMENT, IMPORTANCE OF NON-PROLIFERATION PROGRESS, AND NEED FOR BUDGETARY RESTRAINT IN UN SYSTEM. LEWIS DESCRIBED CURRENT U.S. THINKING ON MIDDLE EAST, CYPRUS, SOUTHERN AFRICA AND MAIN DISARMAMENT ISSUES. HE CONCLUDED WITH STRONG SUPPORT OF POLISH EMPHASIS ON BUDGETARY RESTRAINT AND WITH CAREFUL EXPLANATION OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR FUTURE U.S. PARTICIPATION IN UNESCO OF RESOLUTION AT 19TH UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE OF ISSUES INVOLVING DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ISRAEL. END SUMMARY.

2. AT OPENING OF EXCHANGE, PAWLAK DESCRIBED HIS IMPRESSION OF CURRENT UNGA DEBATE. HE NOTED THAT DEBATE AS Milder in tone than last year and represented deeper

RECOGNITION INTERNATIONALLY OF NEED FOR COOPERATION IN SOLVING MAJOR ISSUES. ONLY EXCEPTION TO THIS WAS EVIDENT DIVERSITY OF ATTITUDES ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES. AS SECOND OBSERVATION, PAWLAK NOTED RISING CONCERN WITH THREAT TO DETENTE POSED BY INCREASING ARMS BUDGETS NOTING NUMEROUS CALLS FOR DISARMAMENT MEASURES AND SOVIET NON-USE OF FORCE (NUF) PROPOSAL. THIRDLY, HE NOTED THAT IN NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES, THERE APPEARED TO BE GREATER WILLINGNESS, WHICH POLAND SUPPORTED, TO PURSUE A NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES IN THE SPECIALIZED FORA DESIGNED FOR THEM (E.G., UNCTAD, WEC, HABITAT) WITHOUT REOPENING THEM AT UNGA.

3. AMONG GEOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS, PAWLAK GAVE MAJOR EMPHASIS TO THE MIDDLE EAST WHICH HE SAW AS HAVING POTENTIAL IMPACT ON SECURITY IN EUROPE IF NO SETTLEMENT REACHED. HE WISHED TO EXPLORE WAYS IN WHICH UNGA COULD ENCOURAGE PROGRESS. LEWIS RECALLED SECRETARY'S CALL FOR MOVEMENT ON OVERALL SETTLEMENT IN GENEVA FRAMEWORK AND STATED THAT HE HOPED UNGA WOULD NOT COMPLICATE, BY OVERLY SPECIFIC RESOLUTIONS OR ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE, PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION. HE OBSERVED THAT A GENERAL UNGA CALL ON PARTIES TO MAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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EFFORTS TO FACILITATE CONFERENCE WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO ANYTHING SO SPECIFIC AS TO APPEAR TO BE SETTING PRE-CONDITIONS. IN THIS REGARD, HE COMMENTED THAT SOVIET ATTEMPT TO PRESCRIBE PARTICIPATION OF PLO AT PRELIMINARY STAGES OF CONFERENCE WOULD NOT ASSIST RAPID CONVENING OF SUCH A CONFERENCE.

4. ON CYPRUS, PAWLAK REFERRED IN PASSING TO THE IDEA OF A CONFERENCE OF INTERESTED STATES WHICH MIGHT ADD IMPETUS TO THE SYG EFFORT TO MOVE CYPRUS OFF DEAD CENTER. LEWIS EMPHASIZED THAT MAIN RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROGRESS RESTED WITH PARTIES THEMSELVES AND THAT, ALTHOUGH WE HAD ENCOURAGED EFFORTS AT SETTLEMENT AND

SUPPORTED SYG'S EFFORTS, POLITICAL WILL OF PARTIES WAS ESSENTIAL ELEMENT. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT A GOVERNMENT WOULD EMERGE FROM COMING TURKISH ELECTIONS WHICH WOULD BE ABLE TO ENTER INTO OR SUPPORT SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

5. PAWLAK PRESSED FOR DETAILS REGARDING POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATION ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO UN ROLE. LEWIS STATED THAT RHODESIAN ISSUE WAS ESSENTIALLY BEING DEALT WITH OUTSIDE OF UN FRAMEWORK IN A CONFERENCE EXPECTED TO CONVENE IN APPROXIMATELY TWO WEEKS IN GENEVA UNDER BRITISH

CHAIRMANSHIP. UN ROLE WOULD EMERGE WHEN INTERIM GOVERNMENT AGREED UPON AND TERMINATION OF SANCTIONS THEREUPON CALLED FOR. ON NAMIBIA, UN ROLE WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE BIGGER FACTOR IN VIEW OF ABSENCE ANY RECOGNIZED SOVEREIGNTY. INGREDIENTS FOR CONFERENCE AT GENEVA NOW EXISTED THANKS TO SOME MOVEMENT ON PART OF SOUTH AFRICA WHICH NOW WILLING TO CONTEMPLATE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. FURTHER ACTION AT THIS TIME BY SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD NOT, HE STATED, ADVANCE A CONVOCAION OF SUCH A CONFERENCE. IF THERE WERE PRESSURE TO VOTE ON A RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA AT THIS TIME, WHILE NEGOTIATING ROUTE IS AVAILABLE TO PRINCIPAL PARTIES, U.S. WOULD HAVE TO VETO, AND UK, WE UNDERSTOOD, WOULD DO LIKEWISE.

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6. WITH REGARD TO KOREA, LEWIS EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT ISSUE WOULD NOT BE DEBATED AT 31ST UNGA AND NOTED OUR REGRET AT FIRM NORTH KOREAN REJECTION OF SECRETARY'S RENEWED PROPOSAL FOR CONFERENCE ON KOREA. LEWIS AND PAWLAK EXCHANGED SPECULATIONS ON NORTH KOREAN MOTIVATION RANGING FROM NORTH KOREAN INTERNAL SITUATION TO OBVIOUS INABILITY OF PRC TO PLAY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AT MOMENT WHEN IT PRESENTLY OCCUPIED WITH LEADERSHIP PROBLEM.

7. A. DISCUSSION OF DISARMAMENT ITEMS CENTERED ON ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION (ENMOD), NON-USE OF FORCE (NUF), AND SPECIAL UNGA SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD). POLES THOUGHT THIRD WORLD OPPOSITION LED BY MEXICO WOULD NOT SUFFICE TO THWART UNGA ADOPTION OF US-SOVIET ORIGINATED RESOLUTION ENDORSING DRAFT ENMOD CONVENTION NEGOTIATED AT CCD THIS SUMMER. BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT REMANDING CONVENTION FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION COULD HAVE NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR CCD THAT HAD JUST PRODUCED FIRST FINISHED TREATY TEXT SINCE 1971.

B. POLES TRIED TO TOUT SOVIET NUF INITIATIVE AS

SIGNIFICANT NEW APPROACH TO DISARMAMENT-RELATED PROBLEMS, EMBODYING RENUNCIATION OF USE OF ALL WEAPONS OF WHAT-EVER TYPE. LEWIS NOTED SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE PRESENT SOVIET INITIATIVE AND THE ORIGINAL 1972 NUF PROPOSAL, AND OUR RENEWED CONCERN OVER THE INTERNATIONAL LAW IMPLICATIONS OF IMPINGEMENT ON THE FUNDAMENTAL UN CHARTER UNDERTAKING AGAINST THE USE OR THREAT OF FORCE. LEWIS ADDED THAT ANTICIPATED EXCEPTIONS REGARDING WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND REACQUISITION OF OCCUPIED TERRITORY MADE THE NEW PROPOSAL STILL MORE DIFFICULT FOR US.

C. ON SSOD, WHICH HE CALLED INEVITABLE, PAWLAK ECHOED SOVIETS ON NECESSITY OF CLOSELY LINKING TO PREPARATION FOR WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC). LEWIS REPLIED THAT OUR POSITION ON WDC WAS UNCHANGED AND THUS WE WOULD NOT FAVOR SUCH LINKAGE. THE U.S. POSITION ON A SSOD WAS NOT YET ENTIRELY WORKED OUT, BUT IF THE SPECIAL SESSION WERE INDEED INEVITABLE, WE WANTED AS CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSTRUCTIVE AN OUTCOME AS POSSIBLE AND WOULD DO WHAT WE COULD TO THAT END.

8. DURING LUNCH, LEWIS RAISED QUESTION OF "TERRORISM." PAWLAK IMMEDIATELY OBJECTED TO THIS TERM STATING THAT ITS USE RAISED PROBLEM OF DEALING WITH WIDE RANGE OF MOTIVATIONS FOR TERRORISM. HE THEREFORE FAVORED SUCH TERMS AS "THREATS TO HOSTAGES" OR "CRIMINAL ACTS" OF INTERNATIONAL NATURE. WHILE UNSPECIFIC, HE INDICATED OPENNESS TO FRG PROPOSAL AS LONG AS IT REMAINED NARROWLY FOCUSSED AND IMPLIED THAT POLAND COULD LOOK AT OTHER, SIMILARLY NARROWLY DEFINED, PHENOMENA WHICH MIGHT BE SUSCEPTIBLE TO INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

9. PAWLAK THEN RAISED PROBLEM OF REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ELECTIVE OFFICES IN THE UN SYSTEM, NOTING DISARRAY IN ORGANIZATION OF COMMITTEE CHAIRMANSHIPS AND VICE CHAIRMANSHIPS AT THIS YEAR'S UNGA. HE STATED THAT THIS DISARRAY UNSEEMLY AND WAS FURTHER AGGRAVATED BY SUCH INEQUITIES AS PERSISTENT WESTERN EUROPEAN PRESSURE FOR CHAIRMANSHIP OF MAJOR CONFERENCES OF ILO. HE CITED MARITIME CONFERENCE FOR WHICH NORWAY NOW BIDDING FOR CHAIRMANSHIP DESIRED BY POLAND AS A CASE IN POINT. HE APPEALED FOR U.S. SUPPORT IN EQUITABLE APPROACH TO O'ERALL PROBLEM. LEWIS SHARED PAWLAK'S CONCERN WITH GENERAL PROBLEM OF ORDERLY AND EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION AMONG REGIONS OF ELECTIVE UN POSTS BUT TOLD HIM THAT SITUATION IN ILO WAS, FROM U.S. STANDPOINT, SUI GENERIS. THIS STEMMED FROM FIRM U.S. SUPPORT OF TRIPARTITE STRUCTURE OF ILO AND CONSEQUENT RESISTANCE

TO EMPLOYER OR WORKER CANDIDATES FROM COUNTRIES WHICH DID NOT HAVE GENUINE INDEPENDENCE OF REPRESENTATION IN LAST TWO OF THREE ILO CATEGORIES: GOVERNMENT, MANAGEMENT, AND LABOR.

10. LEWIS AND PAWLAK SHARED COMMON VIEWS ON NECESSITY OF BUDGETARY RESTRAINT, BOTH NOTING STRONG U.S. SUPPORT LAST WEEK IN FIFTH COMMITTEE OF POLISH RESOLUTION CALLING UPON UN SECRETARY GENERAL TO REPORT TO FIFTH COMMITTEE ON PROGRAMS WHICH ARE OBSOLETE OR RELATIVELY INACTIVE. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAWLAK SHOWED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THOUGHT THAT PRINCIPAL UN CONTRIBUTORS MIGHT JOIN EARLY IN BUDGET PROCESS TO SET RECOMMENDED CEILING ON PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF BUDGETS OF EACH UN SPECIALIZED AGENCY AND UN ITSELF.

11. LEWIS OUTLINED SPECIAL U.S. PROBLEM WITH RESPECT TO UPCOMING 19TH GENERAL CONFERENCE OF UNESCO AT NAIROBI. HE DESCRIBED BACKGROUND OF CONGRESSIONAL WITHHOLDING OF U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO UNESCO IN WAKE OF DISCRIMINATORY ACTS BY 18TH GENERAL CONFERENCE WITH RESPECT TO ISRAEL. HE OUTLINED STEPS BY WHICH SOLUTION TO PROBLEM OF ISRAELI EXCLUSION FROM REGIONAL GROUP COULD BE OVERCOME: ACCEPTANCE OF UNESCO EXBD RECOMMENDATION THAT EACH REGIONAL GROUP DETERMINE ITS OWN COMPOSITION; AND ACTION BY EUROPEAN REGIONAL GROUP, BY ANY PROCEDURE SUITABLE TO ITS MEMBERS, TO INCLUDE ISRAEL. WHILE PAWLAK EXPRESSED SOME HESITATION AS TO WHETHER THIS SECOND STEP COULD BE ACHIEVED, HE AGREED TO REPORT TO HIS GOVERNMENT OUR VIEW OF SERIOUSNESS OF THIS STEP FOR SOLUTION OF PROBLEM OF REVIVAL OF U.S. CONTRIBUTION AND PARTICIPATION. LEWIS EMPHASIZED THAT U.S. DELEGATION WILL BE OPEN TO SUGGESTION AS TO MODALITIES THROUGH WHICH THIS COULD BE MOST EASILY ACHIEVED IN LOW PROFILE MANNER AND STATED THAT WE BELIEVE POLISH DELEGATION COULD PLAY KEY ROLE IN THIS REGARD. HABIB

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